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Bread, Peace, and Land

Independent Community Voice

Cleveland, Ohio Vol. 1, No. 7 June, 1971

Vietnamese Plead for Peace

ITEM ONE: In December 1970 anti-American riots broke out in the coastal town of Qui Nhon in Central Vietnam following the fatal shooting of a 12 year old boy by a G.I. Three thousand outraged Vietnamese stoned Americans, burned army jeeps, and shouted anti-American slogans.

ITEM TWO: Also in December a group of students in the Mekong Delta town of Can Tho staged a confrontation with Pres. Thieu. They demanded that "foreign soldiers end robbing and killing and absolutely respect Vietnam's sovereignty."

ITEM THREE: A survey made of thirty-odd major South Vietnamese newspapers after the Son Tay prison camp U.S. commando raid and renewed bombing of the North last year showed that none of them, including even a leading and normally hawkish government paper, supported the renewed B-52 bombing.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (N.L.F.) has for years enjoyed a predominant degree of support in the Vietnamese countryside from the farmers and villagers who make up the overwhelming majority of Vietnamese. This support has sustained them through years of savage warfare against foreign occupation troops. However, South Vietnam's cities, particularly Saigon, have been more of a question mark. They are the home of the Vietnamese middle class, of government bureaucrats, and anti-Communist Roman Catholics.

But now during the past year fundamental shifts in the political landscape of urban South Vietnam have revealed themselves. Reports from long-time observers of Vietnam as well as scattered items in the U.S. "establishment" press, indicate the emergence of a powerful, aboveground Peace Movement in the cities of South Vietnam. This significant development is virtually unknown in the U.S., although it obviously has profound meaning for the vast majority of Americans who want out of Asia *now*.

Cynthia Fredrick in her article, "The Vietnamization of Saigon Politics" (Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars", Winter/Spring 1971) puts the situation in a nutshell:

> **"Although virtually unpublicized in the U.S., there has been a radical transfornation of urban Vietnamese public opinion about the war. Students, workers, veterans, women, respected leaders (including Roman Catholics, who were formerly strongly anti-Communist and enthusiastic supporters of the war) have all taken a public stand in favor of *hoa binh*—peace. For the first time they have linked their demands for peace with insistence on (1) the withdrawal of "foreign" (i.e. American) troops from the South and (2) the ouster of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime. The war has come home, and the 'silent majority' of South Vietnam is speaking out loudly."**

As recently as 1968, any public talk of *hoa binh* in South Vietnam was not only a criminal offense but was simply unthinkable. Today, according to reports, open talk of peace, national self-determination (*dan toc tu quyet*) and even reunification of the two halves of the country (*throng nhat*), is widespread among all classes and ages in Saigon. A secret U. S. Information Agency poll made last year and uncovered by the press, revealed that only 5% of the Vietnamese sampled wished foreign troops (American and South Korean) to remain in their country. (It goes without saying that very few Veitnamese *ever* wanted U. S. troops occupying their land. Of course, they were never asked.)

There are many reasons for this sea-change in attitudes toward the civil war. First, it is no longer possible for anyone, even in the cities, to avoid the physical and moral damage of the war. Few families remain unscathed; loved ones have been lost, relatives separated, and traditional values destroyed. The cities have been flooded by tens of thousands of refugees from the countryside; Saigon, once a city of 600,000, now is estimated to have three million. Some 50,000 people, many of them homeless youngsters, sleep on the streets of the capital every night.

A second reason is the Saigon regime's economy. Between June 1966 and February 1970, the cost of living in Saigon rose 300%. An ARVN soldier earns about 3500 piastres a month; one egg costs 32 piastres in the Saigon markets. Hence many women—perhaps 400,000—have been forces to work as bar-girls and prostitutes in order to help their families survive.

Thirdly, Nixon's "Vietnamization" itself has contributed greatly to a stiffening of Vietnamese

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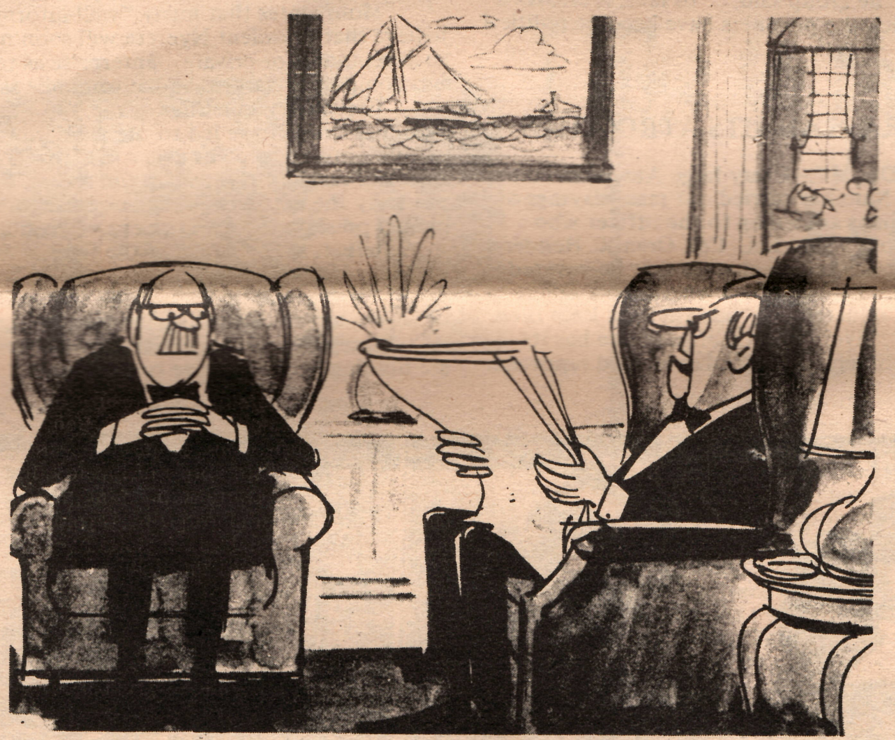

The New Yorker

"When a communist can win a free election, I say there's something wrong with free elections."

Enarson Speaks on CSU Election

Within the past week an investigating committee has disclosed that President-elect Pat Mann was academically ineligible to run for that office. What this committee has discovered has more far reaching effects than the fact that Pat Mann was an ineligible candidate.

This committee's report brings to light the serious question: who is responsible? Was the election committee negligent? Will Peg Polley, dean of student life and student council moderator, take responsibility? Also, was Pat Mann ineligible this quarter, when as vice-president he so vigorously (with the help of Peg Polley) pushed through the Revised Discipline Code ignoring over 800 students who signed a petition protesting such action.

Perhaps the funniest thing to come out of this is the statement of President Harold Enarson. If you haven't yet seen his latest gem I urge you to get a copy; it's sure to become a classic. In the statement Enarson urges that issues not be resolved by resort to meticulous reading of the technical requirements. Interestingly enough it was just such a meticulous reading of the technical requirements that voided the 800 student signatures at the Board of Trustees meeting. Despite the use of such words as *meticulous* and *technical*, Enarson ought to know that he cannot manipulate rules arbitrarily.

The concluding comment amounts to another platitude from dear Harold. He states that elections are important but the energies and passions expended on such elections ought to be kept within reasonable bounds. Come now, Harold! Passion in C.S.U. elections? Do you know something we don't?

Enarson closes the statement with the hope that student government matters will take their appropriate place–second in priority to the primary obligation of learning. Contrary to Enarson's hopes or beliefs, the rights of people to govern themselves will never be second to anything and self-government is a learning process not subordinate to learning.

President Enarson may be pleased that only 7% of the student body voted, but he ought to be forewarned that when he returns from his vacation he will not find the usual student government. Student government has taken a turn to the Left. A number of the elected senators have made it clear that they will not kowtow to Enarson, Peg Polley or any administrative lackey. In fact they may come up with money for an indefinite vacation for Harold Enarson.

I wish to take this space to congratulate all these elected: especially, Nancy Handley and Joseph Burke of the I.R.A., who were endorsed by this paper. I.R.A. members did not hedge on the issues. Student Council's turn to the Left gives hope to everyone in the C.S.U. community.

Free Barbeque Bash at CSU June 4

Concerned citizens are putting the remainder of their organization's budgets to good use this year. A get-together between the University community and the surrounding residential community is planned for the last day of classes, Friday, June 4, beginning at 12 noon, on the lawn of University Hall. There will be free food to feed the people, free music to get it together and free conscious raising for those who keep forgetting that CSU has a commitment to serve the people of Cleveland.

Special Notice

Student Government approved the use of surplus funds for this event *with certain reservations* laid out by Dean Piggy Polley:

> that only students be allowed to attend-- because student funds are being used (Student Government had a picnic to which they invited whomever they chose, not long ago-- paid for with student fees);
>
> that another band, other than the black band S.O.U.L., be chosen;
>
> that the event should close at 4:00 pm. to avoid interfering with Fat Glenn's business.

Get the idea? **BE THERE. POWER TO THE PEOPLE**

WORLD SCENE

Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale

PANTHERS FREED!

Black Panther Party Chairman Bobby Seale is free for the first time in almost two years, following the dismissal of charges in New Haven, Conn. last week. Earlier, there was another significant setback for the Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell policy of attempting to wipe out the Panthers by imprisoning their leaders on phony charges, when 13 New York Panthers were acquitted of all charges.

The trial of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, who were accused of participating in an alleged murder-kidnapping plot, ended May 24 with a hung jury. It was reported that all jurors at first agreed to acquit Seale, but one of the jurors changed his mind, and after 5 days of deliberations the jury was hopelessly deadlocked.

But Judge Harold Mulvey, noting that the state had failed to convince the jury of the defendants' guilt and that massive publicity made a new trial impossible, dismissed all charges against the two Panthers.

The trial, longest in Connecticut history, began Nov. 17. Jury selection alone took four months, as over 1500 people were called before the jury was selected.

Seale was released on $25,000 bond pending appeal of the four year contempt of court sentence stemming from the Chicago 8 conspiracy trial.

The trial of the 13 New York Panthers was also of record length. But after hearing six months of testimony, the jury decided in only two hours that all 13 were innocent on all 156 counts. Most of the 13 have been in jail since April, 1969, unable to meet the exorbitant bail—as high as $100,000.

After the trial, the jury of six whites, five blacks, and one Puerto Rican joined the released Panthers in a victory celebration (despite weeks of police testimony describing the defendants as violent, deranged people planning to blow up department stores and police stations).

The verdict showed that the state had no evidence, but rather it was trying to destroy the Panthers by jailing their leaders on frame-up charges. This is part of a nationwide campaign by Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell to eliminate all Black revolutionaries.

In another recent court decision affecting the Panthers, the indictment of Panther leader David Hilliard, for allegedly threatening the life of President Nixon, was dismissed by a federal judge, because the government refused to disclose contents of wiretapped conversations. Hilliard was charged with threatening the president's life on the basis of a speech he made at the Nov. 15, 1969 anti-war rally in San Francisco.

These victories are not due to the "fairness" of the American system of "justice," but rather they are due to the continued demonstrations of support by thousands of people demanding freedom for all political prisoners.

HARRISBURG EIGHT ARRAIGNED

HARRISBURG, Pa.—Rev. Philip Berrigan and six other anti-war activists were arraigned in federal court here last week. Judge R. Dixon Herman refused to allow the defendants to make statements and entered pleas of not guilty for them. An eighth person will be arraigned later.

Berrigan's statement termed the charges "as insane as our government's Indochina war." He added that the charges are "legal overkill following military overkill. Both are devious, ruthless, mad."

The eight were accused of conspiracy in a federal grand jury indictment handed down April 30 superseding an earlier indictment returned Jan. 12. The new indictment added two more defendants to the case and added new charges. The government claims they were planning to kidnap Nixon adviser Henry Kissinger, to blow up heating systems, and to destroy draft board records.

POW FAMILIES DEMAND END TO WAR

WASHINGTON—Several families of American servicemen missing or captured in the Indochina war issued a statement calling for an immediate end to the war and charging the Nixon administration with using the POW's as political pawns.

Mrs. Harold Kushner of Danville, Va., wife of an army doctor captive in Viet Nam, said that Nixon is "using the prisoner issue to buy time for the South Vietnamese government."

"The pledge of President Nixon to maintain a residual force of troops within South Viet Nam gives no real hope for the release of our men," the statement issued by the group said. "In fact, it creates a situation in which the prisoners have become political hostages."

ARMY BRASS ADMITS ATROCITIES

FT. MEADE, Md.—Every large American combat unit in Viet Nam has carried out mass slayings of Vietnamese civilians according to the officer who commanded troops at My Lai. Col. Oran K. Henderson, facing court-martial on charges that he covered up atrocities committed by his own soldiers, said it is the troops' own reluctance to talk that has kept these incidents quiet. "Every unit of brigade size has its My Lai hidden someplace," Henderson told reporters.

DAY CARE BUST

Nearly 500 people rallied on April 13 on the campus of the University of Iowa in Iowa City in support of 17 persons arrested on Easter Sunday when University administrators called in police to remove 40 people who had established a day care center in a nearly vacant university-owned building. The day care center, set up by activists of the New University Conference, was in existence for only 5 hours when the police moved in. The day care group occupied the Modern Language House, a campus building occasionally used for meetings of foreign language students, after the University repeatedly failed to make available an adequate facility for day care for children.

TANZANIA TURNS LEFT

In a by-lined article which appeared in the May 16 issue of the New York Times, Charles Mohr reports that "after a long period of relative somnolence, left wing forces seem to be increasingly in command of this East African nation of 13 million." He observes that since the passage on April 23 of a law which outlaws exploitation by landlords, a total of 1341 buildings have been expropriated.

The mood of urgency and militancy began, Mohr notes, "after the army of Uganda siezed control of that country on Jan. 25 from Pres. Milton A. Obote, who had taken tentative steps to initiate socialism there." Mohr quotes an observor, who states that "Nyerere [the President of Tanzania] has clearly felt ever since the Uganda coup that he must arouse mass consciousness and stir the people up, or they may just sit idly by if the Tanzanian revolution is threatened."

Mohr states that many "well-informed sources believe that President Nyerere will soon nationalize such remnants of private enterprise as trucking and bus companies, garages and automobile sales agencies."

Emergency meetings of the Tanzanian African National Union have led to the formation of a people's militia, such as exists in Cuba and Guinea. In fact, President Nyerere is said to feel that it was precisely the existence of the popular forces that helped preserve the government of President Toure from defeat at the hands of the foreign mercenary invaders of his country.

Much as has been done in China, campaigns are being organized to educate the people to the dangers of 'bourgeois foot-draggers' in the civil service, who are holding back the drive to socialism.

The people of Cairo, Ill. being confronted by the new police commissioner, James Dale (far right, with shot gun).

CAIRO BLACKS COMBAT BIGOTRY

The struggle of Black people in Cairo, Illinois, to achieve their rights is continuing despite armed attacks by racist white vigilantes. White city police and vigilantes laid siege to the all-Black Pyramid Court housing project and then drove around firing at Black homes and cars on six nights during the week of May 8-15.

Similar attacks on the Black community of Cairo have occurred on more than 150 nights in the past two years. Although nearly all of the violence has been caused by white vigilante snipers shooting at Blacks, no white man has ever been convicted and only three have been arrested. Meanwhile, hundreds of Blacks have been arrested and jailed, often with extremely high bail.

In response to these attacks, Black citizens formed the United Front of Cairo, under the leadership of Rev. Charles Koen. The United Front instituted a boycott of white business in Cairo. The boycott, which has been sustained for two years, is for the purpose of demanding jobs, decent housing, and respectful treatment of Blacks.

Not only do the Cairo city officials condone the continued violence against the Black community, but they may even participate in it. According to Rev. Manker R. Harris, a spokesman for the United Front, three of the four City Commission members elected in April are among the most extreme racists in the city. They are on the board of directors of the "United Citizens for Community Action," a group led by white businessmen to combat the United Front boycott. The UCCA is known to have connections with the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

One of the three, James Dale, now police chief, campaigned on a platform of using any means necessary to "keep Blacks in their place." Moreover, the whole election was a fraud. Only 2,600 people were registered, yet more than 3,800 votes were cast, according to Harris.

South Vietnamese Struggle for Peace

Continued from page 1

public opinion. This policy means both an increasing militarization of Vietnamese society (with more than two million men under arms in the South, the South Vietnamese army is the fourth largest in the world) and the certainty of increasing destruction and loss of life in months to come. As American military presence in the capital decreases, long pent-up opposition to the Thieu regime has mounted in a crescendo. In response, the Saigon authorities are forced to rely on increased repression in order to counteract this threat. Between fifty and two hundred thousand political prisoners are now being held under intolerable conditions in "interrogation centers" and jails.

With the gradual withdrawal of the U. S. occupation troops the Thieu regime has increasingly found itself alone politically. It is looked upon as a toy in the hands of the U. S. high command. Even warlike Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, the Vice-President and former big-time heroin smuggler, has tried to move toward a more "peace-oriented," "nationalistic" position in the last few months.

There have been a vast range of protests over the past year. In February 1970, Saigon students demanded that police stop meddling with student activities. Next, two top-ranking Vietnamese Roman Catholic bishops publicly issued a seven point program for peace, the first stand the conservative South Vietnamese had taken.

In response to the students, Thieu carried out a "pre-emptive strike," arresting and torturing many of them. The students launched a new wave of protests. On the heels of the protesting students, a pathetic mass of war invalids protested the government's refusal to help them with jobs and housing, staging a hunger strike and dodging the embarrassed police throughout Saigon.

The Cambodian invasion sparked a new series of demonstrations. The unoccupied Cambodian embassy in Saigon was "liberated" by students. Some senators joined them in protesting governmental corruption.

In May, the An Quang Buddhists began a new campaign for peace. A 27 year old Buddhist nun immolated herself as a "torch for peace" in Thieu's home town. In June, 100,000 Saigon workers called for a general strike.

The blossoming Peace Movement held a general conference in October 1970 to plan for the future. The thousand delegates from all walks of life adopted a new name—the Popular Front for the Defense of Peace (*Mat Tran Nhan DAn Tranh Thu Hoa Binh*). The position the PFDP adopted in their ten-point manifesto is even stronger than that of the NLF's ten-point peace plan. They called for the immediate departure of all U. S. forces as a precondition for peace, the forming of a government which is truly representative, and the struggle to construct an egalitarian, healthy and progressive society.

Of course, the NLF is the strongest political force in South Vietnam even in the cities, a position it has bought with the blood of countless thousands of of its members. It is significant that Thoi-Bao Ga, the Vietnamese student paper published in the U. S., recently published an article attacking the An Quang Buddhists as supporters of American interests. Younger Buddhists feel more kinship with the young militants of the NLF than with the old-line pacifist Buddhist leadership. It is noteworthy that unlike the An Quang Buddhists the PFDP is open to cooperation with the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. The PFDP rejects the idea of a "Third Force" that the somnolent General Big Minh represents, because with the CIA-inspired ouster of Prince Norodom Sihaunok in Cambodia last year it has become clear to most that "neutralism" is no real alternative for Vietnamese society.

The real alternative is the building of an independent socialist reunified Vietnam in both the Northern and Southern parts of the country. The new Peace Movement hopefully is a giant step in that direction.

The Vietnamese poet, Le Dan, put it in this way:

> *The nation standing like a centennial tree*
> *and on its branches like the green buds*
> *they will grow up,*
> *millions of hands, to end this war*
> *and drive from our country*
> *these killers who cannot hide themselves...*

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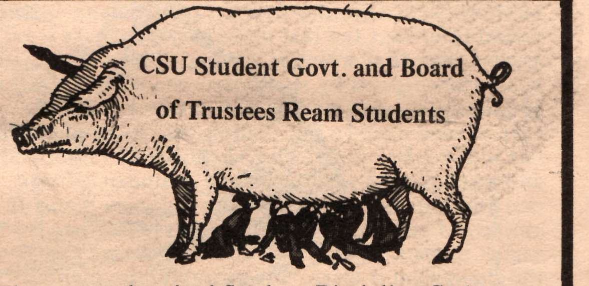
STAFF: Charles Pekarek, Nancy Handley, Joe Burke, J.S. Salata, L. D. Pellegrini, Jane Brecht, Jim Miller, Mary Ann Murphy, Louise Pavlicek, Sheldon Hirsch, Jane Darrah, Tom Clarke,, Mary Baumgartner, Larry Levner, Howard Bernstein, Mary Waxman, Dan Marschall.



CSU Student Govt. and Board of Trustees Ream Students

The new and revised Student Discipline Code, otherwise know as the Student Repression on Campus, has been passed by the Board of Trustees.

The May meeting of the Board of Trustees was the exact date that the Student Affairs Committee (those who drew up and are responsible for this anti-student code) had originally planned to have the Board approve the Code that they under the eye and influence of the administration had composed.

The fact that the code had reached the Board of Trustees at such an early date is astounding. How this was accomplished after so much student dissent and protest many have found hard to understand.

The code was presented to the Board in the form of a motion by the Student Government. The ass-licking student senators voted to ignore students demands for revisions to the new code. The student senate also ignored the Faculty Council by not returning the code back to them for approval before going to the Board of Trustees.

These lackey and reactionary senators also dissolved the ad-hoc committee that was charged with amending the revised code. The ad-hoc committee was disbanded before it was able to establish communications and procedures with its members. The true reason for the abolition of the ad-hoc committee was the composition of the membership. Many of the members of the committee, a majority, were seeking change and additions to the code in the interest of the students rather than the administration.

On Sunday, May 9th, Pat Mann after being influenced by the administration, (particularly Peg Polley, Acting Dean of Student Life and Student Council advisor, and also a non-voting member of the Student Affairs Committee) called for an emergency session of the Student Senate. It was Pat Mann himself, that running dog of the administration, who proposed to the senate the disbanding of the ad-hoc committee, the approval of the Student Affairs Revised Student Discipline Code, and that the code be sent to the Board of Trustees for ratification.

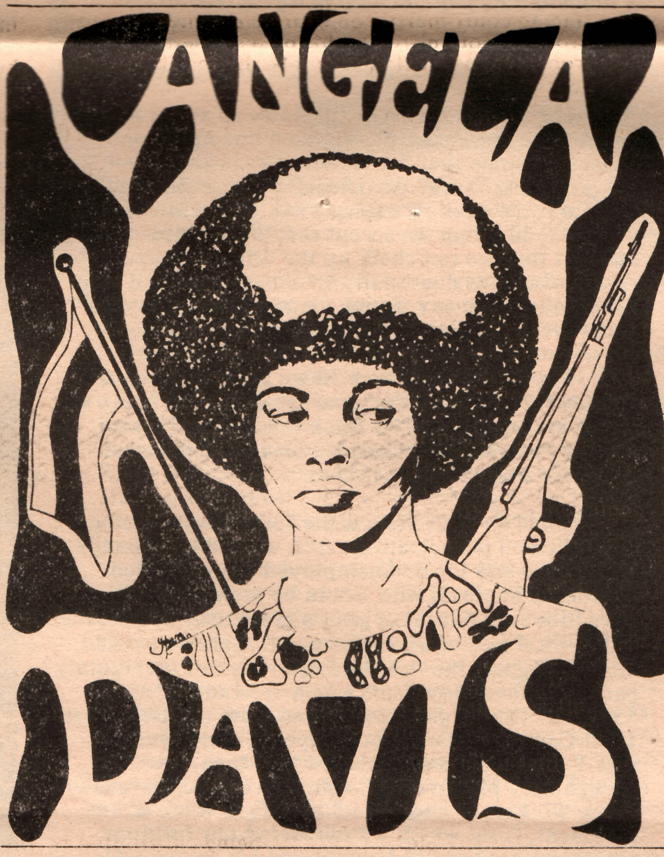
It should be pointed out at this time that Pat Mann is also a student member of the Student Affairs Committee. Pat Mann, being a co-author of the code, has taken a personal, petty-individualistic attitude in getting the code—his code—adopted.

Not only did Pat Mann and Dean Pig Polley get the code passed by student Government, but Pat Mann single handedly got the Board of Trustees members to vote for the code, even after 850 student signatures were presented to counter-act the Student Government motion.

After all the students did to express their dissatisfaction with the code, it was still adopted, right on schedule.

CSU Students Support Angela

by Edwina Young
Chairwoman of the CSU Organization to Defend Angela Davis

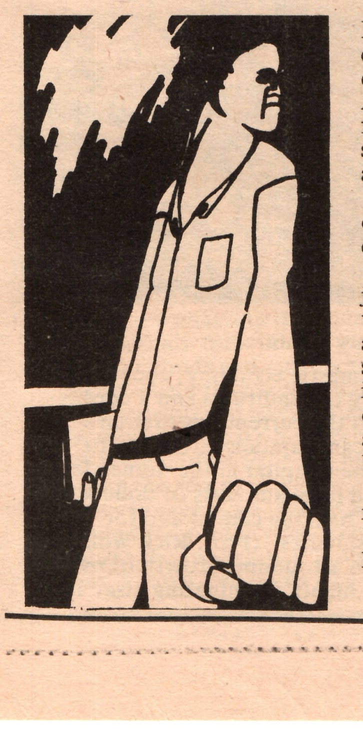


The fight for Angela Davis is a test case for this country. The attempt to legally lynch Angela is part and parcel of the brutal racist assault against the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Indian people of this country. It is a carry-over of the witch-hunt period made famous by the late Joe McCarthy.

This frame-up is one more attempt to behead a people's movement of its advocates and to fill our jails with political prisoners. It is an attack against the democratic rights of all Americans. In attempting to jail Angela, however, Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and Spiro Agnew may not have have reckoned with one important factor: never before has there been such an outrage against a repressive act in this country. This outrage is a potential which, if organized, can free not only Angela and other victims of repression, such as the Soledad Brothers and Ruchell Magee (Angela's co-defendant), but can also reverse the reactionary drive that has been set in motion in this country.

Many CSU students are aware of the fact that Angela is a victim of a racist and politically motivated act by the government. In February a number of CSU students got together to form the CSU Organization to defend Angela Davis. As of the present, this organization has not been recognised. How long does it take, we ask, for a campus organization to be recognized? We wonder what is the problem with the student government and the administration in so delaying recognition of our organization.?

Our organization is dedicated to educating the CSU community to the issues involved in the Angela Davis case, and to act as a spokesman for those in our community who feel compelled to work for her freedom. The goal of the CSU organization is to free Angela! We see Angela as a symbol of our fight for freedom; we see in Angela a person in whom life and struggle have merged: not merely in conjecture or in abstract thought, but in fact.



We feel that because of her beliefs and her way of life, Angela stands accused. Her life is at stake, even though she is innocent!

We object to the fact that Angela has been jailed illegally, that she is being held without bail, and that she is placed in solitary confinement. Recently, a judge who was presiding at the case was forced to step down because of his prejudice. We wonder if a judge can be found who is free of prejudice and of racism. We wonder, also, if it is possible to receive a fair trial in Marin County, California, long a hotbed of racism and rightwing activity.

Recently, two members of the Cleveland Committee to Defend Angela Davis——Arnold and Laurin Lockshin--visited Angela at her prison and reported on her treatment there and on her general condition. They said that she devotes a lot of time to working on the case of the Soledad Brothers, and that although she has lost a lot of weight due to poor treatment, her spirits remain high. She asked the Lockshin's to convey her warmest thanks to everyone in Cleveland who has worked for her release; but she wishes that people would become involved in helping other political prisoners, less well-known than she.

The Committee to Defend Angela Davis has attracted many sponsors. Recently, the famous singer , Roberta Flack, joined the New York Committee to Defend Angela Davis and has announced her strong support for Angela. Among the sponsors for the Cleveland Committee to Defend Angela Davis and the CSU Organization to Defend Angela Davis are Professor Stanton Ling Davis, George Edwards, Arthur Evans, Rev. Dewey Fagerburg, Alonzo Howard, Laurin Lockshin, Katherine Marshall, Professor Stewart Robinson, Geraldine Roberts, and Attorney Stanley Tolliver. This list can be made much longer if you, too, become a supporter of Angela Davis. Dig it!

Her fight is my fight.

U.S. Capitalism: Unemployment and Econo

When Nixon campaigned for President in 1968, he assured the voters that not only did he have a secret plan for ending the war in Vietnam (which he soon proceeded to escalate into a war throughout Indochina) but also that he had a magic formulafor ending unemployment—which then stood at well under 4% of the labor force—and ending the periodic international monetary crises. His economic policies have produced an unusually cruel phenomenon: a continuing inflation of prices along side of deepening unemployment and stagnating productive capacity.

Even using the government's own statistics (over 6% of the labor force unemployed) one may conclude that the job market is in a rather sorry state. However, if one were to examine the definitions and methods that labor department statisticians use, he would infer that the real unemployment rate is far greater than that which is claimed. These statisticians reach their figures by surveying each month a sample of households and finding out in which category each person over 16 fits: employed, unemployed, or *not in the labor force.* The categories of employed and unemployed may be clearly delineated from one another, but the distinction between being unemployed and outside the labor force can be very vague, indeed. Now, it is true that in some cases the distinction is clear: for example, the mentally or physically retarded, the retired, the idle rich, the full time students are surely to be regarded as being outside the labor force.

Concealed Unemployment

But what about those who are out of work now, yet who need and want work? Here, the government asks whether the respondent is currently seeking a job. If so, the person is regarded as unemployed; if not, he is regarded as outside the labor market. It seems clear, however, that when the economy is in a weak state and there is a severe job scarcity, many people, who need work and who would accept a job were one available to them, become discouraged after repeated failure and, deciding that continued job search will do no good, stop looking, and wait until the economy picks-up.

Although it stands to reason that these persons should be classified as unemployed, the government does not do so, since they are not now seeking a job. Thus, any attempt to get a true picture of the unemployment situation must try to measure this "concealed" unemployment.

To this end, we shall examine the Labor Force Participation Rates, using tables obtained from the *Manpower Report of the President,* March 1970, and Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings,* January 1971. What is meant by the participation rate of a category of people is the percentage of non-institutional persons in that category that is counted as part of the labor force. Our table will select for various categories the peak participation rate since 1948, together with the current rate.

Civilian Labor Force Participation Rates (Percent)

	MALE		FEMALE	
Age and Color	*Peak since 1948*	*Dec. 1970*	*Peak since 1948*	*Dec. 1970*
Total (Age 16 and over)				
White	86.5 (1951)	79.1	43.1 (1970)	43.7
Black	87.3 (1948)	75.2	49.8 (1969)	48.4
16 & 17				
White	52.7 (1951)	45.2	35.2 (1969)	34.3
Black	60.4 (1949)	30.5	30:4 (1951)	19.5
18 &19				
White	76.2 (1948)	63.9	54.6 (1969)	53.4
Black	80.8 (1951)	56.9	48.7 (1967)	39.7
20–24				
White	88.4 (1951)	81.7	58.0 (1970)	58.0
Black	92.8 (1952)	82.4	58.6 (1969)	57.0
25–34				
White	97.8 (1955)	96.5	44.2 (1970)	44.2
Black	96.7 (1953)	93.3	57.8 (1969)	57.4
35–44				
White	98.3 (1955)	97.3	51.3 (1970)	51.3
Black	97.3 (1953)	92.2	60.9 (1966)	59.1
45–54				
White	96.8 (1956)	94.8	54.6 (1970)	54.6
Black	95.6 (1949)	88.3	62.3 (1964)	60.6
55–64				
White	89.6 (1948)	82.6	43.2 (1970)	43.2
Black	88.6 (1948)	78.8	49.1 (1966)	45.0
65 & over				
White	46.6 (1949)	25.4	10.6 (1960)	9.9
Black	51.4 (1949(	25.2	17.5 (1948)	12.0

It is noted that the peak year for the total male labor force was 1951, and that participation has declined from 86.5% to the present rate of 79.1% for whites; for blacks, the rate has declined from 87.3% to 75.2%. Now, it is true that the sharp decline in participation rates for young people (especially 16 through 20) is to a large extent explained by the vast expansion of the school and college populations; similarly, the decline in participation rates for those over 65 reflects improvements in the areas of social security, pension plans and retirement provisions.

What is interesting is the decline in the participation rates of the so-called prime age groups (24-64), which though less precipitous than the other age groups, is nonetheless substantial. (One must observe, moreover, that in every age group the decline has been greater among blacks than among whites.)

It is precisely within these figures that one finds convincing evidence of the growing concealed unemployment. For, would any sane person argue that a huge leisure class of ex-workers-turned-capitalists has grown up during these years of increasing unemployment, spiralling welfare and wage consuming inflation? We think not. The only reasonable explanation is that jobs, especially in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories, are becoming scarcer and scarcer, and that this scarcity of jobs has succeeded in expelling millions of people from the labor market. (One must not think that the skilled or even highly specialized scientific workers are excluded from the drying up of the job market. One need only examine the unemployment statistics among former Boeing engineers in Seattle or electronics specialists in the Boston-Cambridge area. In fact, the March 15th *U. S. News and World Report* notes that unemployment among engineers, scientists and technicians has reached 60,000. It adds further, in the article entitled "Recession Hits the Campus: Fewer Jobs for Graduates", that "Federal, State and local governments are expected to take on 24 percent fewer college-educated workers.")

"Federal, State, and local governments are expected to take on 24% fewer college educated workers "

The data on labor force participation among women are much less revealing; this is because both the number of women who enter the labor force has been growing steadily since the end of World War II, and therefore the comparison of participation rates reflects little more than the upward trend itself. The data does not suggest, therefore, a lack of concealed unemployment. In fact, it is not unreasonable to assume that among the driving forces behind the women's liberation movement is precisely the growing awareness by women of this huge concealed unemployment.

Let us now interpret this table to arrive at a conservative estimate of concealed unemployment. We shall assume that for white males in the 20-64 age group the "true" participation rate at the end of 1970 was the peak rate since 1948. For white males in the 16-20 group we accept the 1970 figure—which assumes that we can chalk up the difference in participation rates as due totally to increased school facilities, rather than any drying up of job opportunities here—even though it seems too low.

For black males over 20 we use the same peak rates as for whites in the same age group or their own, which ever is higher. For black females 16-19 we assume the white rates and for black females aged 55-64 we assume the peak rate.

What we have done is the following; by using the indicated participation rates, we add both to the labor force and to the unemployed the estimated additional numbers who would be in the labor force were jobs available. This gives a more realistic estimate of the total rate of unemployment. Let us now add into our figures the full-time equivalent of involuntary part-time unemployment, which is estimated at 556,000. (This figure is obtained from the December 1970 Department of Labor Reports, which states that 1,382,000 were employed part-time, even though they preferred full-time work were it available. These workers averaged 24.5 hours per week of employment, from which we calculated our full-time equivalent.)

What we have, then, is a total of about 8,100,000 unemployed at the end of 1970, rather than the government figure of 5,146,000. This gives an unemployment rate of 9.4% rather than the official figure of 6.2%.

We have also rather incontrovertible evidence of a profound state of economic stagnation in America.

Economic Stagnation

Further evidence of economic stagnation is provided by the Federal Reserve Board's index of capacity utilization in manufacturing (*Federal Reserve Bulletin,* February 1971):

Capacity Utilization in Manufacturing (Percent)

1960	80.6	1967		85.3
1961	78.5	1968		84.5
1962	82.1	1969	(4th quart.)	81.7
1963	83.3	1970	(1st quart.)	79.8
1964	85.7		(2nd quart.)	78.0
1965	88.5		(3rd quart.)	76.2
1966	90.5		(4th quart.)	72.3

What this table shows is that well over 25% of manufacturing capacity of the U. S. is now idle.

If we compare the situation at the end of 1970 with that of 1938, we observe that official unemployment for 1938 was 19% and if we add on an additional 50% to this to account for concealed unemployment, we have a rate of approximately 29%, which appears much greater than the current figure. Furthermore, even though official estimates of plant utilization rates for that era are not available, it is safe to assume that the idle rate was about 40%.

One is tempted to infer from this that the present state of stagnation is far less severe than that of the 1930s.

However, when one considers the fantastic growth of the war machine during the ensuing 30 years years, he gets a different picture. For if we compare the 1938 unemployment rate with the percentage of the labor force (including armed forces) which is today (a) unemployed, (b) in the armed services, (c) employed by the department of defense as civilians, (d) employed in the production of munitions, war equipment, etc. and (e) employed in producing goods and services the demand for which stems from military spending, we get a total of around 22.3 million people, or 25.1% of the labor force, not involved in socially productive labor. (The figures above have been obtained from Defense Indicators , U. S. Department of Commerce, Feb. 1971, and Statistical Abstract (1970), p.253.)

An additional indicator of the degree of stagnation is obtained from a study of the rapid growth of welfare rolls. In the March 7 issue of the New York Times Magazine, Prof. Herbert Gans of M.I.T. points out that by the end of 1970 "6% of all American people—about 12.5 million people— were on welfare, and since then their number has continued to rise faster than expected." In fact, even though the population of the U.S. rose by 13% between 1960 and 1970, the welfare rolls have shot up by 94%! The thrust of Gans' article seems to be that the problem of welfare is no temporary aberration in an otherwise rosy scene, but rather is part and parcel of monopoly capitalism, and is likely to grow more acute during the years ahead.

BUDGET
SAVE OUR CITY
WE WANT OUR JOBS
Mayor Lindsay
Fun City or Un-City?
Mayor Lindsay
Fun City or Un-City?
FUN CITY NEEDS FUNDS

Monetary Crisis

The stagnating domestic economy, coupled with massive overseas military expenditures and a continuing inflation, has led to the current international monetary crisis. American capitalists, unable to find sufficient use for their capital in the domestic economy, have exported huge amounts of dollars overseas, in the form of banking capital and for overseas plants and subsidiaries. (Prof. Rick Wolf of CCNY documents the astounding growth of overseas finance capital in a highly illuminating essay in

ic Stagnation

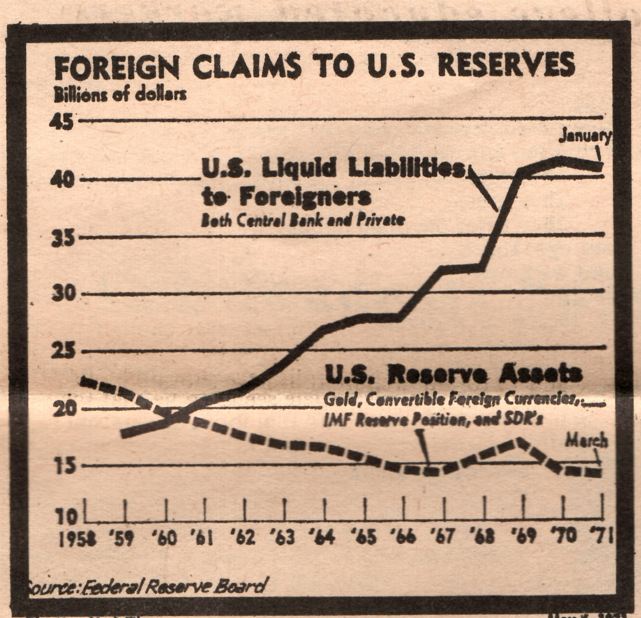
the May 1971 *Monthly Review*. He cites the annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency to the effect that assets of foreign branches of American banks had grown from 1.7 billion dollars in 1953 to 16.0 billion dollars in 1968. Comparable growth figures have been obtained for the so-called 'edge and agreement' corporations, a type of financial corporation.) Furthermore, the sales of foreign subsidiaries of U. S. manufacturers now amounts to an annual figure of 150 billion dollars.

Military and other government expenditures for services overseas amount to an additional outflow of over 6.6 billion dollars. (The reference here is the May 1971 Cleveland Trust Business Bulletin.)

What has resulted from this continued outpouring of U. S. dollars is a chronic balance of payments deficit, leaving 43.5 billion dollars of foreign short term claims on the U. S. international monetary reserves compared to an 11.1 billion dollar U. S. gold reserve. The holders of these dollars were being asked, in effect, to subsidize U. S. inflation with virtually unsecured U.S. promissory notes, i.e., Eurodollars. Furthermore, this influx of capital competed with the indigenous capitalists of these countries and fueled the inflationary spirals in the countries in which it intruded.

As long as Japanese and West European Imperialisms were too weak to fight back, this process continued unchallenged. Now, however, the Japanese and West Europeans have been mounting an increasingly effective challenge, which has led to a diminishing U.S. trade surplus and to stronger efforts to combat the influx of U.S. imperialism into their own economies.

As a result, what has happened in Europe and what may soon happen in Japan is a de facto devaluation of the American dollar. The effects upon the American traveller to Europe were immediate: his traveller's checks bought fewer marks than before.



Source: Federal Reserve Board

The New York Times May 6, 1971

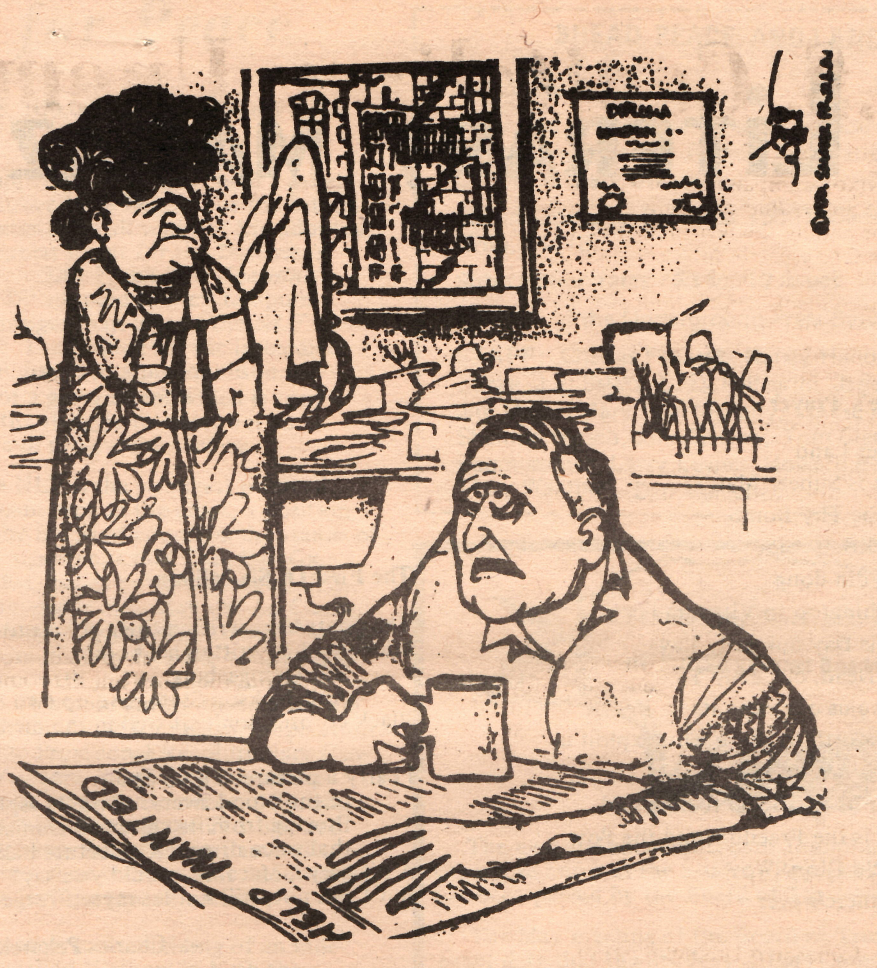
What is in store for us at home can also be discerned: for, in order to compensate themselves for the decreased returns for their goods which has been occasioned by the revaluation of foreign currencies; U.S. corporations will attempt to cut costs of production at the expense of workers. Thus, one may observe an increasing tempo of lay-offs at every level of employment and speed ups for those fortunate enough to retain their jobs; we see, also, an attempt to curtail inflation and lower corporation taxes by reducing government expenditures in the areas of health, education and welfare. No serious attempt has been made to curtail military spending, of course, precisely because both for domestic reasons and to preserve its imperial domain overseas, the U. S. capitalists need a huge military octopus.

The government is already talking about wage controls and 'income policies', which are designed to hold down wages in the face of inflation. Nixon has shown his strike breaking proclivities just the other week in the case of the railroad signalmen and before that with the construction workers. Inspite of growing needs for teachers and other educational workers, there is a virtual moratorium on hiring at all levels. Colleges are being hit with enrollment freezes and more and more are being forced to resort to large, impersonal and intellectually stultifying lecture classes to help cut costs.

Collapse of Capitalism

In the area of public welfare, there is the tragedy of increased welfare rolls coupled with cuts in the state and federal welfare budgets. States across the country, from reactionary places like Nevada and California to so-called liberal states like New York, are enacting inhumane legislation making it increasingly difficult for needy people to obtain welfare funds and cutting the funds available to a point where those on welfare cannot even maintain a bare subsistence level of existence. What has resulted in some cases have been rebellions by the victims of these budget cuts, the most famous case in point being the recent Brownsville uprising in Brooklyn. Several weeks ago, Mayor Kevin White of Boston visited the rubble strewn streets of Brownsville, where the topography is distinguished by 'bombed out' out' houses, run-down absentee owned tenements, and junk-filled lots; where the unemployment and infant mortality rates are at least double those of New York City as a whole; and where some 80% of the people are on welfare. Noting that what he saw in New York is typical of all of America's urban centers–including, we might mention, our own Cleveland–White commented that this "may be the first tangible sign of the collapse of our civilization."

While Mayor White forsees a collapse of civilization, we feel it is only capitalism which is stagnating and dying. We see in the growing awareness and militancy of students, working people, women, Black Americans, and the poor the coming to birth of a movement that will rid our society of the blight of Imperialism: an economic order that is based on the exploitation of working people and a dehumanization of the labor process, that relegates human dignity and human worth to a second class status behind the sacred right of the capitalist to extract unconscionable profits, and which can maintain itself now only through the domination of other countries and the crushing of the attempts of these dominated peoples to achieve national liberation. While ridding us of imperialism, this movement will create a humane and uniquely American version of socialism, a social system based on an economy devoted to satisfying human needs rather than individual profit and an economy which is planned to take these needs into account at every level of the productive process and which will be controlled by the people, themselves, instead of by a small oligarchy of the super-rich.



Liberation News Service

"I always hated those bastards on welfare. . .Now I am one!"

Radical Rhetoric

MONOPOLY CAPITALISM: What's Monopoly Capitism? It is what we've got in this country. It's General Motors, General Foods, American Tel and Tel, General Dynamics, . . .

In high school civics class we learned about the free enterprise system, better known as capitalism. Under Capitalism, factories, stores, and banks are owned by 'private' individuals who must make a profit inorder "to stay in business". The essence of the system is *competition*. Businessmen are supposed to be cutting prices and improving their goods inorder to outsell their adversaries and hence make more money. Since in theory there are a large number of competitors making each product, the buyer has a great deal of choice and everything is good in the best of all possible worlds.

There's a question whether this system ever really existed outside the economics texts, what with government subsidies to the railroads, "natural" monopolies such as utilities, patents, "gentlemen's agreements", and downright crookedness; but there's no question that it isn't what we have before us now.

The United States scene (and the world scene as well) is dominated by less than one thousand corporations. These corporations are interlocked in numerous ways, especially through ownership by families such as the duPonts and Morgans and by the financial empires of these families.

The rest of the hundreds of thousands of businesses in the economy have to follow the leaders–most of them are retail stores anyway.

In each industry, with few exceptions, three or four corporations dominate the field. In automobiles for instance, Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors have the market sewn up. And General Motors has nearly one-half the market to itself alone.

What this means is that GM can pretty much set the price of its automobiles to a level which will mean maximum "super-profits", since Ford and Chrysler are careful to follow its lead in setting prices. Ford wouldn't try to cut prices against G.M. since it knows that G.M., given its giant size, could match Ford's price and thengo on to beat Ford into the ground. Of course, in this case both G.M. and Ford would lose out since Ford would have gone bankrupt and G.M. would have done without all important profits and opened itself up to federal intervention. It's in the interest of both corporations to set their prices and hence avoid competition.

They *do* compete in the areas of advertising and changes in styling (this competition does the consumers no good, of course), but in essence the "free" market has been done away with and and what you have is a wasteful and irrational system which is not *planned* for society's good but which also is not based on free competition. The worst of all possible worlds for the buyer of goods, you and me.

The overwhelming power we have allowed the giant corporations to charge us what they will, to pass their taxes off on us, to speed up factory work until it becomes almost unbearable, to pick our presidents and senators, to drain money from our social needs into war and space spending, and (in their search for profit) to force their system on peoples throughout the world–all this is part and parcel of Monopoly Capitalism.

There is no sense in trying to go back to an earlier era as Ralph Nader and Wright Patman would have us do. The small competitive producer of goods is long gone as a major force. What is needed now is for the people to take control of the nation's vast productive apparatus and manage it wisely and humanely for the common good. What is needed is socialism.

(*Suggested Reading:* Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order.* (Monthly Review Press, $3.95, 1966.)

Grin and Bear It by Lichty

"I believe that inflation will be beat. I believe that wages and prices will stabilize, I believe the war will end, and I believe in magic!"

LITERARY MAGAZINE IN EXILE

The Horde's Prayer

Our Mother Land
Whose Art is Super, Man
Hallowed be Thy Bomb
Thy King Kong come
Thy Dung din dong
From Washington to Vietnam
Give us this Day our daily Lay
Our daily Dead, our daily $
And forgive us our exploits
As we give forth to those who exploit us
And lead us not into the Hot
But deliver us first from feeling Evil
For Thine is the Freedom and the Pow
And the Old Glory Wow
Wherever there's ever
A Menace

— Dan*el

The First Of Six Million

The poets have written their poems to Kent State
Michener has written his book
But Orangesburg was,
And Jackson State gave up two.
Black corpses don't sit well in the media's stomach

I carry a picture, a 6X6 photo
of the blood river, red on its asphalt bed,
flowing from its chrushed cranial source
that once dreamed in lecture halls.
A bit gory? Macabre, would you say?
But I can not, will not let myself forget.

— Charles Pekarek

Gunwale Immobility

rain needles creamed my arm
with pleasure to the river
(actually) it was a brown season
we would blur the trees

sudden a large Morse message
lights flashing
when all was
white paper:

"lonely here in this dark bunker"

It was a prose message helping
a gold genteel mission.
and who could forget the trees ???

He moved to record his voice,
but it was glued together
like Idaho mirrors'
(the first place wanted no years)

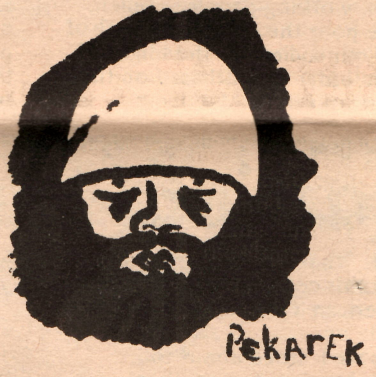
Dogs ran up
barking at the night'
Some warlord was playing light music
on tin pans.

— j s salata

POETS AGAINST THE WAR

PEOPLES CHURCH
761-7668
CORNER PAGE AND EUCLID
(1 BLOCK EAST OF LEE)

everyone invited
all kinds of poetry



Sunday, June 13
1 p.m. to eternity

a smile
a three tiered person
and children
they play
they greet
they offer me open hands
our eyes touch
and we know
each other
they seem different
so young so shy
so childlessly aware
the world at once seems
their playground and
their death

— Jon Freeman

When I Was Going To Heaven

When I was going to heaven,
I paid a call on hell;
The oldest Lucifer
Was roasting potatoes there

I asked him nicely
To give me one
But he wouldn't
For I hadn't helped tend the fire.

The Devil's Mother

The devil's mother rocked
On the stump of a willow tree:
"Sleep, sleep, my little devil,
I will not tell on you."

from **Maly Als'uv S'palic'ek,**
a collection of Czech National
Folk Songs and Sayings

translated by **Charles Pekarek**
with a little help from his friends

The Electric Pencil Sharpener

My moustache takes its bath
In coffee black as night
That left my room too soon
Somewhere a forest fell
That I might have the news
Come round
With the morning light
And so you see
The sound of the tree
Is heard by the faraway eye
Now Jesus was a carpenter
Who saw the light and sang
And me
I plug my word sword in
An electric pencil sharpener
And every napalm sun day
As men celebrate mass murder
I scribble in pig Latin
Vi et armis on the altar

— Dan*el

end lines from a winter bush song

last week I drew both of my legs the same
my body
a front stance
the schemata of the rest
was
I once held a wren
I've gathered sticks.
now I'll begin to arrange them
I've punched holes in raised earth
now I'm filling them

— ellen taubman

Not Psychiatry, Nor the State: Women Must Control Their Fate!

Consciousness-raising is a bringing to awareness of certain painful feelings which we, as women, too often choose not to face–mixed feelings about our children; a buried desire for sexual relationships outside of marriage, in some cases a desire for close physical contact with other women; a resentment of our husbands or bosses; a rage at being underpaid for our labor, and excluded from the more desirable jobs; a longing to have a room of our own. Through probing discussions of these shared problems in consciousness-raising groups, many women have been able to gather the strength necessary to make positive changes in their lives. Occasionally a sister will receive material as well as psychological help from the women's movement, for example, a temporary place to live, a movement job that pays a small salary, a cooperative child-care arrangement. Above all women learn that their fears and hostilities are shared by others. These informal groups at the heart of the women's movement have given us the determination to create a society which would permit us to be fully human.

Consciousness-raising is in some ways comparable to group therapy and to psychoanalysis. In all three relationships it is possible for women to break down barriers which keep us from self-knowledge; to get to the roots of our discontent; to free ourselves from self-destructive situations, be they our parents, our husbands, our lovers, our children, our roommates, or our trapped selves.

All too often, however, the therapist and particularly the psychoanalyst are available only for the few who can afford them. Freud, in fact, insisted that only by paying would the patient be able to take analysis seriously. This is a notion totally in keeping with a culture that values money and individual achievement above the betterment of many.

Psychoanalysis would tend to see the political radical as "a special type of neurotic who displaces his aggressions onto the public level" (Phillip Rieff, *Freud: The Mind of the Moralist*, p. 267). Few women come out of psychiatric treatment with an understanding of the economic forces which oppress them as women and as people. Rather, they would be persuaded to see their fury towards the system as an inability to cope with a father figure. While this explanation might be relevant in some cases, it is a conservative response which could lead perhaps to a change in the individual's life but to no change in the society at large, the values of which American analysts usually want to preserve.

Dr. Phyllis Chesler, psychiatrist, because of her strong women's consciousness, spoke out vehemently against traditional therapy and analysis for women at the APA convention. She based her argument on studies with a middle income out-patient clinic in New York City.

Dr. Chesler thinks that more women than men are involved in therapy because "it is one of only two socially approved institutions for women," the other being marriage. She believes that "marriage and therapy mirror and support each other; that the white middle class enter upon both with a sense of urgency and desperation, but as a matter of course." The large number of single and divorced women from all classes "suggests that not being married is experienced as an illness, which therapy can, hopefully, cure.

Each woman believes her symptoms are unique and her own fault: that she is neurotic rather than oppresses."

In all fairness to therapy, it is sometimes necessary, but it is limited in that there is always the same sexist society to which we return. We support Dr. Chesler's philosophy that a good psychiatric experience must lead to individual and collective action.

Book Store Degrades Women

There has been a new addition to the C.S.U. Bookstore. Instead of just ripping off students with exorbitant prices they have branched out into blatant exploitation of women by selling Playmate Puzzles---$3.00---cheap at any price.

The nudie puzzles, already assembled for those who know nothing about human anatomy, are displayed in a position of foremost prominence in the bookstore.

What happens to a Playmate when she reaches the age of thirty-five? She used to disappear from the sexist scene, now she can collect royalties from Playmate puzzles .

Perhaps we should applaud the bookstore for providing an income for Hugh Hefner's bunnies in their old age. However, by displaying and selling Playmate puzzles, which cannot be claimed to be purchased for their literary value, the C.S.U. Bookstore is openly exploiting and degrading not only the women sold wholesale to the public, but all women.

The Playmate Puzzles perpetuate the image of women as sex objects and for this reason their display and sale should be discontinued immediately!

Darrah Debates Abortion

A debate on the issue of a bortion was held at the Debs Hall Forum on Friday, May 21st. Gale Shangold and Jane Darrah debated against the Right to Life Society.

The debate centered around a discussion of human rights of both mother and child. It was argued that physical needs met by a parasitic relationship in the womb are not all the needs of a human personality. Emotional and educational needs are also important and can only be found in an environment of loving acceptance. An unwanted child lacks this background in the development of his personality. Telling a woman to give up her unwanted child is not the answer either, as studies have proved that institutional care is psychologically damaging to children. The answer lies in family planning and birth control.

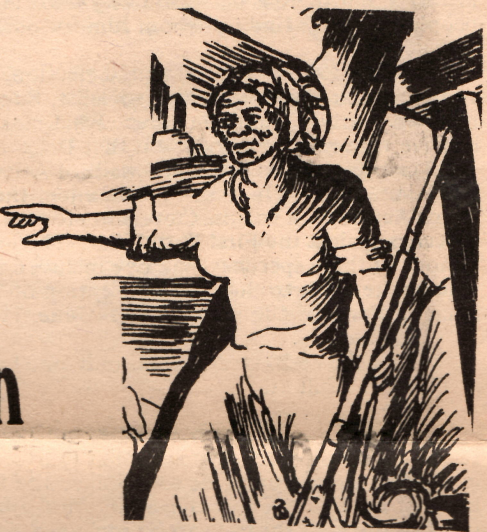
An important point of the debate was over a woman's right to choose or reject motherhood. The fact that one million abortions are performed every year shows that motherhood is not instinctual, but learned through a socialization process, making women feel it is their destiny to breed. Political overtones of the issue were not ignored and discussion touched upon the economic profit made from a large populace and an underpaid female work force. Crocodile tears over the unborn should not be confused with the fear of social change if women are given the freedom to decide their own future.

An important statement made by Jane Darrah was "Our position is not to say that a bortion is the only means open to women who favor birth control. We consider abortion a final, but important measure. We also respect anyone's opinion against abortion. We are simply stating: Give all women the liberty to express their right to decide–either way."

It appears that the issue of repealing Ohio's abortion laws is being avoided by the Ohio state legislature, as hearing dates are being cancelled and rescheduled so that at present, no one is sure when the hearings will be held.

Pressure must be applied on legislators who are controlling our future. All women concerned should attend the abortion hearings to testify in favor of their right to control their own lives.

i like to think of harriet tubman



I like to think of Harriet Tubman.
Harriet Tubman who carried a revolver,
Who had a scar on her head from a rock thrown
by a slave-master (because she
talked back), and who
had a ransom on her head
of thousands of dollars and who
was never caught, and who
had no use for the law
when the law was wrong,
who defied the law. I like
to think of her.
I like to think of her especially
when I think of the problem of
feeding children.

The legal answer
to the problem of feeding children
is ten free lunches every month,
being equal, in the child's real life,
to eating lunch every other day.
Monday but not Tuesday.
I like to think of the President
eating lunch Monday, but not
Tuesday.
and when I think of the President
and the law, and the problem of
feeding children, I like to
think of Harriet Tubman
and her revolver.

And then sometimes
I think of the President
and other men,
men who practise the law,
who revere the law,
who enforce the law
who live behind
and operate through
and feed themselves
at the expense of
starving children
because of the law,
men who sit in paneled offices
and think about vacations
and tell women whose care it is
to feed children
not to be hysterical
not to be hysterical as in the word
hysterikos, the greek for
womb suffering,
not to suffer in their
wombs,
not to care, not to bother the men
because they want to think
of other things
and do not want
to take the women seriously.

I want them to think about Harriet Tubman
and remember,
remember she was beat by a white man
and she lived
and she lived to redress her grievances,
and she lived in swamps
and wore the clothes of a man
bringing hundreds of fugitives from
slavery, and was never caught,
and led an army
and won a battle,
and defied the laws
because the laws were wrong. I want men
to take us seriously
I am tired wanting them to think
about right and wrong.
I want them to fear.

I want them to feel fear now
as I have felt suffering in the womb, and
I want them
to know
that there is always a time
there is always a time to make right
what is wrong,
there is always a time
for retribution
and that time
is beginning.
——Susie Griffin

Fraudulent Patriotism

By Sidney Lens

One of the striking features of Right-wing polemic is fraudulent patriotism. Reactionaries clothe themselves in flag and heritage to justify their support for a large military, the invasion of Indochina, and the suppression of dissent. But their knowledge of American history would hardly pass them through kindergarten.

The Founding Fathers, for instance, were opposed to large standing armies--on the ground that they would inevitably lead to military dictatorship. The army was totally disbanded when the revolutionary war ended. Later, when President Washington asked for a military force, he assured Congress he wanted only a small one. A larger one, he conceded, would bring on tyranny.

Yet all the conservatives who pay obeisance to the founding fathers—*at least in rhetoric*— today insist that we need every one of the three and a half million men under the Pentagon. If you challenge them with historical fact they revert to the old buzzsaw: "Times have changed—we now have a big enemy threatening us."

The "big enemy" argument, alas, has been the refuge of scoundrels and demagogues since the beginnings of the nation. In point of fact the enemy was bigger, certainly relatively, in the last decade of the eighteenth century than it is now. The British navy and army were infinitely superior to ours; indeed, we probably would not have won the revolutionary war if the French had not joined us and occupied some of the energies of the British forces. And in addition, Britain held forts and territories in the West and armed Indians to resist us in the Northwest territories, and refused to honor other committments, claiming that the United States had reneged on its pledge to pay debts owed to Tories and British merchants. Despite the power of the "enemy", however, the Government did not build a large permanent army for security. The Founding Fathers knew what Truman, Eisenhower Kennedy, LBJ, and Nixon have chosen to disregard, namely that a vast military machine must in the end reshape all of society in its own image.

Another false refuge of Rightest demagogues is the Constitution, which most of them seem never to have read (especially the Bill of Rights). If you vocally oppose the Indochina War, such characters will invariably ask: "Don't you believe in the Constitution?" But Article 1, Section 8 of that Constitution says that only Congress can declare war—and we are now in the fourth-largest and longest war in our history without any such declaration. Presumably the Constitution is a holy document except for those parts of it contrary to our present government practices.

The point of all this is that there are some features in the American tradition as noble and idealistic as can be found anywhere on Earth, including those countries where revolutions are now under way. Moreover, some of the men who made our revolution or who led radical forces subsequently were as wise in the ways of the world as any modern leftist leaders.

Consider Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty. There was little that Lenin did to make a revolution in Russia in 1917 that Sam Adams hadn't anticipated back in 1775. Adams believed there must be dual power; where Lenin organized councils of Soviets, Adams organized Committees of Correspondence and of Safety. Adams believed that the revolution must have its own army—the so-called Minutemen, or what we today call guerillas. He believed one must use the old institutions to the extent that one can (such as being a member of the official assembly), but place one's main reliance on the action in the streets (such as dumping tea in the Boston Harbor, or holding demonstrations against the Stamp Act, or organizing boycotts against Tories, or seizing the land of big landlords).

Unfortunately Adams is dim in history—too far back to be remembered well—while Lenin is not. Ninety-nine per cent of American radicals can tell you all about Lenin or Mao or Fidel or even Kim Il Sung. But painfully few know about the Sons of Liberty, or Adams, or William Lloyd Garrison (who called the Constitution a "covenant with Hell" and a slave-owners document), or Wendell Phillips, or William Sylvis, or John Brown, or Gene Debs- ad infinitum. The fact that we are now a reactionary and imperialist country does not mean that we have an undiluted reactionary and imperialist tradition.

A radical movement in America must necessarily have an internationalist orientation—it is absolutely true that there will either be one world or no world. We must have an internationalist orientation, too, because our own government is the largest force for counter-revolution the world has ever seen; to save ourselves we must simultaneously save humanity from the American power elite. But that does not mean we must spell America with a "k" or that we must be ashamed to boast of the fact that it was here that the first unions were built, that no other country has ever had as many strikes or as militant ones as we have, that there has never been a radical movement more colorful than the old Wobblies, or any humanistic revolutionaries as decent as Gene Debs and A.J. Muste.

It would be wrong to downgrade the achievements or ideas of a Fidel Castro or a Lenin. But it's time we starteddevelopingour own radical ideology, specifically suited to our own America, vintage 1971.

Huey Long once said that if fascism ever comes to America it will come in the name of democracy. But if America ever turns to humanistic revolution, it will very likely be in the name of her own humanistic traditions.

From The New Patriot

Book Review:

Eugene Debs Speaks

Eugene V. Debs Speaks *Edited by Jean Y. Tussey. Pathfinder Press. 1970. $2.75*

Gene Debs is one of the neglected great men of North America. (And there are many others!) He'll never rate a kind word in the 'establishment's' histories, but there is no reason why we ordinary people shouldn't find out about him for ourselves.

In the 1920 U.S. Presidential election, running as an announced revolutionary socialist, Eugene Debs received nearly one million votes. What makes this massive vote more remarkable is that Debs ran his 1920 campaign from inside the walls of Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. He was in prison under the Espionage Act (after a trial in Cleveland) for making speeches against the First World War. The most famous of these speeches, and one included in this volume, he made to the state convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio in Canton in June, 1918.

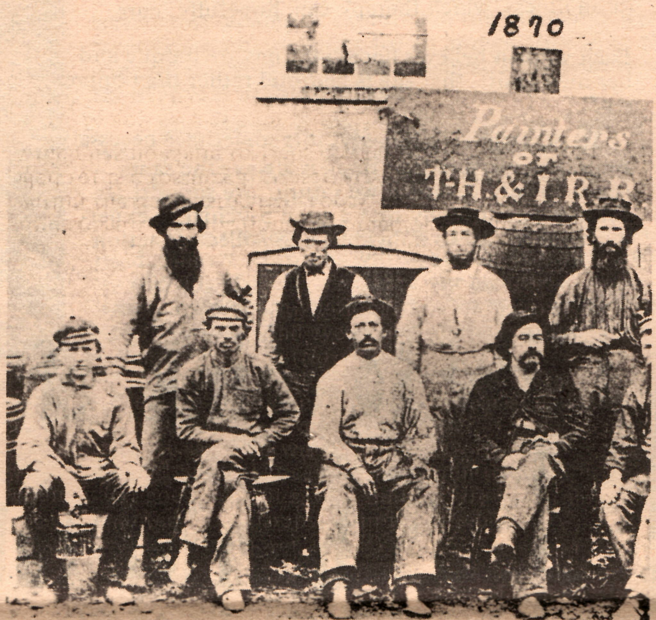
But, the 1920 election was only one highlight in a long and full life.

Debs was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1855. He dropped out of his high school at fourteen to work in a railroad paint shop. He soon joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen at an organizing meeting. For the next thirty years he remained active in the union movement as an officer, organizer, editor, and strike leader. He was radicalized, after some years of work within the A.F.L. and the Democratic Party, by the trial of the Haymarket group and by what he saw during the great Pullman strike of 1895. He helped organize the Industrial Workers of the World ("Wobblies") in 1905.

He was candidate for President of the United States five times, four times (1904, 1908, 1912 and 1920) on the Socialist Party ticket.

What is more important than this dry record of dates and elections is the spirit, insight, and outspoken honesty with which Eugene Debs reached millions of Americans on his ceaseless trips around the country on the "Red Special." He spoke their language and he got to them where they lived without ever speaking down to his audiences or compromising his political position.

Debs was always in the left-wing of the Socialist Party. When the Soviets took power in Russia in 1917 he hailed the Revolution, saying, "...Here, our hearts are with Bolsheviki of Russia." He quoted Marx freely in many of his speeches. This is a lesson for radicals today. The most successful radical politician in our history didn't hide his light under a bushel as, for instance, U.S. Communists have done since 1935. He unembarrassedly proclaimed his socialism and revolutionary beliefs in the language of working-people, in the confidence that they would understand...and they did.



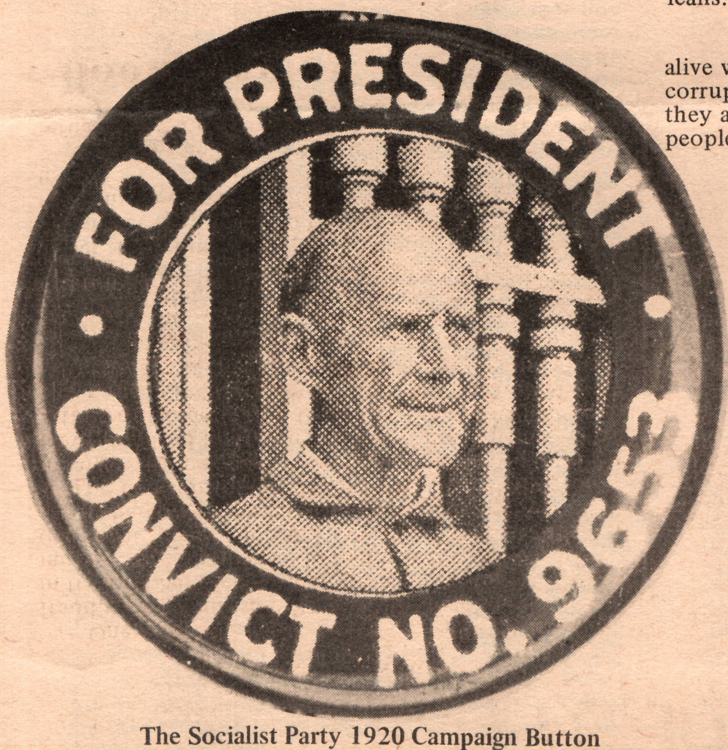
Debs at 14 (1st row, left) on the paint gang of the Terre Haute, Indianapolis, & Richmond R.R.

His gravest defect, it appears, was his decision to disregard organizational and ideological problems within the Socialist Party. Today the Party he struggled for is a fossilized, conservative debating-society which has no claim to Debs' name.

In any case as a rare propagandist for the cause of socialism, Gene Debs won the respect and love of the American people to an extent which no other American socialist has been able to equal. Among his generation of great radicals—W.E.B. DuBois, Susan B. Anthony, Marcus Garvey, Big Bill Haywood, Joe Hill, Daniel DeLeon—Debs stands out as a figure who could reach out towards a majority of working Americans.

This indispensible collection of speeches is alive with Gene Debs' passion, good humor, and incorruptible political straightforwardness. Read them... they are part of the flesh-and-blood history of your people.

Jim Miller



The Socialist Party 1920 Campaign Button

Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?

Last month we sold our precious blood
To help hold back the rising flood
Of printer's bills and typists fees.
So, help us out! Attend our pleas!

For people's news and poetry,
Which paper do you run to see?
The Cauldron or the Cleveland Press?
The P.D.? (Ha! You know that mess.)

So, if it's us to whom you turn
When 'ere the truth you wish to learn,
Enclose forthwith your contribution.
Help pay the way to Revolution!

Louise Pavlicek

Anti-War Vets Arrested

More than 100 police, equipped with riot control gear, broke up a peaceful encampment of antiwar Viet Vets and supporters on Sunday, May 30, on Lexington Green, the Revolutionary War battleground.

Some 400 people were arrested after police moved on the scene. The demonstrators, including over 200 Vietnam Veterans Against the War, had marched from Concord to Lexington on Saturday in what was to have been the first leg of a weekend hike from Concord to Boston, retracing in reverse the famous midnight ride of Paul Revere.

At the height of the demonstration, over 1500 people were gathered on the green, the site of the first battle in the Revolutionary War.

Street Festival Benefits Free Clinic

A successful street festival on E. 115th St. between Mayfield and Cornell raised $512 on May 23 for the Free Clinic. The headliner group was Eli Radish. Later, members of Tiny Alice jammed with Eli Radish. A number of other groups played excellent sets when they showed up and asked to play.

As a cooperative effort most of the houses on the street cooked food which was sold; somewhat mysteriously five kegs of beer made a guest appearance as well. Figures, their faces daubed with clownish hues, passed among the crowd selling helium balloons.

One of the happiest aspects of the festival was the biracial character of the crowd. At least one-third of the audience was black.

The Free Clinic needs a great deal more money, but the $512 it picked up in the street was a righteous sum indeed.